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342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tō·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *âm-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kā·pa-*, or *d·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *chā·pa lī tā·ga-*, or *ydt let tā·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit •[251] their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful amongst them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

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to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed. 372

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.[1] [251]

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Aspleniun nidus* (*pā'tla-*), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."[2] As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,[3] who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven. 114

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling 372

[1] *Vide ante* "Habitations" paragraph 5.
[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308–9.
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi. pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix 3).

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *ābi-dē-, tā-la-ōg-*, and *kā-ngatā-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chāng-dar-angā-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of
● 251 provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a
562 whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women
4 ?11 in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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28. For brains and marrow they have a great *penchant*, and, in order to extract the latter, will often crush the smaller bones with their teeth, while they break up the larger ones with a stone hammer.

29. The blood of the turtle only are they careful not to spill,[1] and this, though not preferred to the flesh, is considered a dainty, and is eaten separately, after it has been boiled in its own shell until quite thick.

30. They do not preserve the carapace of either description of turtle, but, having removed the flesh, place the shell over the fire, that all the remaining fat may be melted, when—with an appreciation worthy of a City alderman—they ladle it into their mouths with *Cyrena* shells, which thus serve as spoons. So great a delicacy do they consider this that the shell is finally broken up and divided, that no particle may be lost! This fat is largely used in the manufacture of *kòi·ob-*, and it may be judged how highly they prize the unguent since they are willing to deny themselves this dainty rather than allow their supply to run short.

31. Food is preserved by placing it on the small grating (*yût-leb-tâ·ga-*)[2] above the hut fire,[3] or in the following rather peculiar fashion:—having procured and cleaned a length of bamboo (*fem. sp.*), they heat it over a fire that the juices contained in it may be gradually absorbed. When this is satisfactorily accomplished, half-cooked pieces of pork, turtle, or any other food,[4] are packed tightly into it, and the vessel is again by degrees put over the fire, in order to heat it slowly, lest the rapid expansion of the meat should cause a crack; when steam ceases to issue forth, the bamboo is taken off the fire, and, after the opening has been closed by leaves, is set aside with its contents until a meal is required, when it is replaced on a fire, for, as I have remarked in another place, it is a peculiarity of these savages to eat their food in an almost boiling state.[5] As soon as the meat has been once more thoroughly baked, the bamboo is split open with an adze or other

[1] To kill a turtle they pierce the eye with a skewer or arrow (*i·dal jë·ralike*); when the flappers and belly-shell are removed (*tô·latke*), the animal is cut up (*wâ·ratke*) prior to distribution.

[2] *Vide* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

[3] Jean de Lery, in the account of his adventures among the Indians of Brazil (about 1557), describes the "wooden grating set up on four forked posts; . . . and as they did not salt their meat this process served them as a means of keeping their game and fish."—(E. B. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 262.)

[4] They have not acquired a liking for either beef or mutton, but are very fond of fowls, rice, dhall, sugar, and sweets of all kinds; it is strange, therefore, to find in Colonel Tickell's paper that "fish they were indifferent to, also to rice."

[5] *Vide ante* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 8.

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implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rár-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (*? Diospyros densiflora*), *ó·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·jâ-* (*Sterculia* (*?*) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rèt*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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[50] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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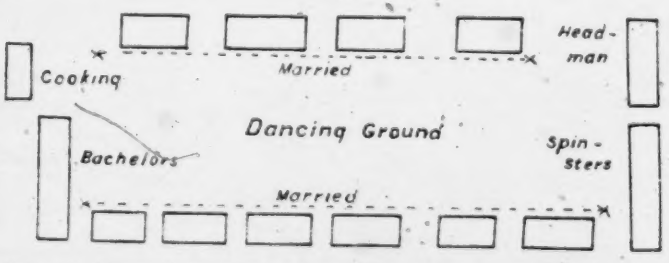
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.

[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
[262] false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[751] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[515] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
342 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
251 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collecting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet.

[251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to manhandle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable handtowels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the